THE New Republic

Who Are Today's One-Third Of a Nation?

Pages 13-15

WHATEVER THE PEOPLE VOTED FOR, IT WAS NOT MORE OF THE SAME

The 86th Congress Has Two Tasks:
Revise Its Own Rules
Revise Its Estimate of Our Needs

NOVEMBER 17, 1958

25 cents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire

Eisenhower's Reaction

ON MARCH 4, 1957, Harvard economist Slichter told a Cleveland audience: "The most important fact about the present business situation . . . is that there has been a definite lull in business." The recession had begun.

The Administration wouldn't believe it. Testifying August 15 last year Reserve Board chairman Martin declared that the economy is "practically bursting at the seams." Instead of lowering interest rates to check a business contraction the Reserve Board, with Administration backing, raised interest rates in the mid-summer of 1957 to check a supposed expansion. The Administration wholly misjudged the recession in two particulars: it couldn't believe it was coming, and it couldn't believe it would have the political effect it had after it arrived.

Standing before his post-election press conference last week Eisenhower was the picture of a bewildered and defensive man. He denounced "spenders." He asked what the public wanted? He seemed unwilling to accept the election verdict. There was something dangerously reminiscent of Hoover in 1930 in his hint that he was prepared to protect the voters from their own folly. Then he went off to visit ex-Treasury Secretary George Humphrey, the arch-conservative who dominated the Cabinet for four years—who told the Alsop brothers two more years of Truman would have brought Communism to America.

Let's go back a bit. Where did this recession start? The Kefauver Anti-Monopoly Committee has just brought out a 183-page report on the auto industry. Automobile production had been dropping, it recalled, since the 1955 peak of almost eight million passenger cars. Yet in 1957 Ford boosted 2.9 percent; then two weeks later Chevrolet boosted its prices 6.1 percent. Ford waited another week—then boosted its prices again. After that, Chrysler set its higher prices accordingly. (Kefauver suggests this is monopoly price collusion). Well, we know what happened. The public was good and tired of fins, chrome, juke-box designs, yacht-like bodies and high prices. A kind of consumers' strike started. This helped produce the "tail-fin recession" of '57-'58 radiating out of Detroit. There were other causes but this was a big one.

The Administration was blind. Even last January it brought out a rosy budget estimate that postulated a near-balance. Instead of that tax receipts slumped and tardy anti-recession measures (which only began in March) sent up expenditures. The money the government wouldn't spend in fighting the recession it has to spend now in the recession deficit. Treasury Secretary Anderson sadly estimated, July 30, that the deficit will be around $12 billion. (Our guess is—this is way too high, but never mind.)

Southern Chairmen

WE HAVE BEEN figuring out the ratio of committee chairmanships which the South will hold in the new Congress. As everybody knows the South is a minority of the Democratic Party, but has a stranglehold on these committee satrapies where most of the Congressional work is done.

The figures are these: In the old Senate, the South held 53 percent of the chairmanships of standing committees. It will hold the same percentage now. But whereas before the Southerners comprised 44 percent of the total Democratic, now they are down to 35 percent. The discrepancy has greatly increased.

In the House, the story is the same. Southern Democrats formerly held 63 percent of the committee chairmanships. They still do. But whereas before the ratio of Southerners to all Democrats was 45 percent, it is now down to 37 percent. It is hard to think of any other legislative situation in the world where a geographical minority of one-third of a party automatically takes two-thirds of the seats of power.

Shrewd Lyndon Johnson knows perfectly well the difficulty he faces with his new liberal majority. The real story of the next two years turns on this. Even before the votes were counted last week, a Johnson assistant in Texas was telephoning Washington newsmen of the Senator's new 12-point program: a kind of personal State of the Union message. It was not a bad statement. But there was one omission. There wasn't anything about civil rights.

Butler and the South

BEFORE the week was over, Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler called a press conference in Washington. The Democratic Party, he said, cannot duck the civil rights issue. If the South wants to quit the party, that is their affair.

So the matter is joined. The Democratic National Committee meets here December 4 and 5. Southern leaders want to throw Butler out. They want a "moderate" somebody who will fog the issue as political issues generally are fogged in America. In ordinary times that would be done. But we have a hunch that a major party realignment may be taking place. Butler becomes a symbol. If he stays the party majority wins; if he goes it means that a Johnson "compromise" has been accepted, a compromise under which the Supreme Court and the Constitution are somehow the law of the land in 40 states but not in the other eight.

Notes

THE ELECTION knocked off Knowland, chief exponent of the China Lobby, and four or five GOP isolationists; on the whole it may make things easier for the Eisenhower foreign policy . . . Look for wails from newspapers against Democratic gerrymandering in 1959 in such states as California and Massachusetts where, for the first time, they have captured both houses of the local legislature; Republicans have had these states gerrymandered for years without protest from sympathetic papers. . . . The only Republican candidate in Colorado whom Eisenhower endorsed by name during his recent visit was John J. Archibold, next-door neighbor of the President's mother-in-law. Young Archibold ran 25th in a field of 34 candidates for the Colorado House.

T.R.B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic
A JOURNAL OF OPINION

VOL. 139, NO. 20, ISSUE 2296
NOVEMBER 17, 1958

THE WEEK 3
Immoderate Times; Some Winners and Why They Won—New York, California, Massachusetts, Ohio, Minnesota, New Jersey, Arizona, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Michigan

ARTICLES 7
Work Ahead for Congress
Today's One-Third of a Nation
by Helen Hill Miller
A Communication
by Leon Keyserling

BOOKS 18
THEATRE 20
ART 21
MUSIC 22

GILBERT A. HARRISON, *Editor & Publisher*
HELEN FULLER, *Managing Editor*
SELIG S. HARRISON, *Associate Editor*
ROBERT EVETT, *Book & Music Editor*
F. R. RUSKIN, *Asst. to the Publisher*
Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, James E. King, Jr., Donald Malcolm, Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 - 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 25¢. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses. Copyright, 1958, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.

Immoderate Times

NO SINGLE EXPLANATION explains: unless it is enough to say that in this TV-helicopter age, candidates are seen as well as heard, and the importance of charm and vigor are greater than ever. During all of the campaign, the most critical matters—those relating to the conduct of our foreign policy—were seldom mentioned and never intelligently debated. Party images were smudged. A few Republicans ran like liberal Democrats; some Democrats ran like anti-spending Republicans. Sen. Barry Goldwater did not run against Governor McFarland but against Walter Reuther. And Governor McFarland hardly ran at all. And although organized labor lost a fight in Arizona, it did a spectacular organizing job; and in so doing, it not only knocked out "right-to-work" proposals in five out of six states, but it helped dispose of two grandsons of McKinley —Bricker and Knowland.

Commentators tell us that the Democratic sweep reflects a broad, though vague discontent with GOP leadership. That, we believe, is true. But the discontent showed itself in contrary ways. The voters were against a great many things—moderation in Little Rock, local bond issues, and a penny increase in the cigarette tax. Every Democrat of any consequence was elected in Missouri, and everybody everywhere was from Missouri.

Peace? There were more voters than Mr. Nixon dreamed of who were unimpressed by Republican boasts that they kept us out of war, who sensed that the United States is less secure in the world today than it was six years ago. Prosperity? It depends on who you are. There were 40 Republican members of the House on November 3 from urban areas classified as "depressed." The following day there were only 26. Integrity and leadership in the White House? Golf balls, duck hunts and vicunas were too conspicuous.

What now will those who won do with their mandate? Lyndon Johnson releases statements attributing the sweep to "moderate" leadership. And if the Republicans had won, they would have claimed the same. In our opinion, the size of the new Democratic majority, Democratic gains outside the South, the liberal outlook of so many of the victors and, above all, the very immoderateness of the challenges to the nation, mean that the Democratic leadership will be under the strongest pressure to act decisively on such problems as those we list in this issue. For the first time since 1936, a liberal coalition—pieced together with different parts, depending upon the items under consideration—may be possible in the House as well as the Senate. Beginning now and carrying through to November, 1960, the Democrats can no longer run in Mr. Eisenhower's tracks; nor can they run only against Mr. Nixon. If he stays in character, the liberal, up-to-date new Republican governor of New York will be an ever-present shadow over the Capital. And if the Democratic majority runs for cover toward more "moderation," it may well find that by 1960 it has little to run on.

Correspondence

► *Snow and Galsworthy*

SIRS:

IT IS GOOD to have Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s praise and analysis of Anthony Powell (*NR*, Oct. 20). But he weakens his case by taking a wild and obviously ignorant swipe at the "laborious and flat pseudo-Galsworthian Lewis Eliot series

(Continued on page 23)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some Winners and Why They Won

NEW YORK—"Rocky" (*NR*, "New Faces," Nov. 3) was the perfect gubernatorial candidate: hard-working and attractive, tied by tradition to Roosevelt and Truman, a munificent friend of minorities, a proponent of expanded unemployment and medical insurance and state action against segregation. In polling a better than half-million plurality over Averell Harriman, Rockefeller had a major assist from Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio, whose public demonstration of power at the Buffalo nominating convention—in defiance of Governor Harriman, Mayor Wagner, former Senator Lehman, Mrs. Roosevelt—repelled many Democrats. Harriman first argued that Rockefeller was a me-too liberal; in the final weeks he switched and predicted that Rockefeller would usher in an era of reaction. The *New York Post*, having endorsed Harriman five days before election, later withdrew its endorsement. Mrs. Roosevelt made a last-minute comment on Democratic Senator candidate Frank Hogan that urged his candidacy in such a way as to lose more votes than it gained. Mayor Wagner was barely visible in the campaign. The result was a plurality for Rockefeller heavy enough to carry in conservative Republican Kenneth Keating as Senator. Nevertheless, the Democrats increased their representation in the lower house of the New York legislature by five seats, in the state Senate by three, and elected two additional Congressmen. The rumored consolidation of ethnic groups ("The Italians will go for Harriman," etc.) never materialized. In a typically Italian district, Rockefeller ran 9.3 percent ahead of the GOP candidate in 1954; in a typically Jewish Assembly district he ran 10.2 percent ahead of '54; and in a typically Negro district he ran 10.8 percent ahead.

CALIFORNIA—What happened to the GOP? Everything. Their Senatorial choice, "Goodie" Knight, never forgave "Bill" Knowland for rudely shoving him aside and grabbing the gubernatorial nomination for himself. Mrs. Knowland never forgave "Goodie" and said he had a "macaroni spine." The right-wing forces insisted there be a "right-to-work" proposal on the ballot. And right-wing propagandist Joseph Kamp got into the act by distributing hate leaflets that boomeranged in favor of the Democrats. It ended in a rout, and the comment of a Democratic official was: "We ought to give Knowland a testimonial dinner, he did it." Mr. Nixon's protégé and ally, Rep. Patrick J. Hillings, lost by nearly a million votes to the new Attorney-General, Stanley Mosk. By roughly the same plurality, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown overwhelmed Mr. Knowland. For the first time in 20 years, a Democrat—Clair Engle—was sent to the Senate. The President and the Vice President had come to California to help out. But nothing helped. Democrats won substantial control of both houses of the state legislature (last time: 1889), and 16 Congressional seats (Republicans 14).

MASSACHUSETTS—Observers had talked of 400,000 as the margin Sen. John Kennedy would require to make a respectable showing. He more than doubled this—a tribute both to Kennedy and to his opponent, a Boston lawyer named Vincent Celeste, who in a campaign of peculiar inanity charged that the Senator was spending too much time on national and international affairs. Kennedy brought in the whole Democratic state ticket. Governor Foster Furcolo won re-election by a margin of 250,000. Democratic control of the legislature makes redistricting of both legislative and Congressional districts a probability. The Congressional races showed a shift in the composition of the state delegation from 7-7 to 8-6, the Democrats picking up a seat in the 13th District. Two unusually fine Democrats running in Republican districts were defeated—Professor James McG. Burns and John L. Saltonstall, Jr. ("New Faces," Sept. 29). Burns ran behind the ticket in Pittsfield and Holyoke, apparently because many Catholic Democrats preferred a Republican of their own faith; and Saltonstall lost Brookline because Jewish Republicans, who had supported a Jewish Democrat for the same seat two years ago, elected to stick by Congressman Laurence Curtis against a "Yankee Democrat." In addition, Curtis, a "respectable" Republican who kicks in the clinches, circulated an exceptionally dirty personal attack on Saltonstall as a radical and a man who had a civilian job in World War II. Burns was harassed for his ADA affiliations.

OHIO—Pocketbooks and "right to work" wrecked the Republicans in the home-state of Robert Taft and Warren G. Harding. Ohio had been badly hit by unemployment. It was a poor time for Republican Governor C. William O'Neill to hang his hopes on the public's fear of "labor bosses." The Democratic flood was torrential: Michael DiSalle elected Governor ("New Faces," Nov. 3), a Democratic legislature, Democratic monopoly of every state office but one. Incumbent Governor O'Neill bucked not only labor and the "tide," however, but Ohio tradition. Only once since 1901 has a Republican Governor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

won re-election. That was John Bricker, once considered invincible. He was retired as Senator by a former Congressman whose victory few expected—Stephen M. Young.

MINNESOTA—There are now three qualified Democratic Presidential possibilities from one state: Governor Orville Freeman (elected to a third term with a plurality of nearly 120,000), Sen. Eugene McCarthy (who showed by his 65,000 plurality over Ed Thye that the "Catholic issue" matters less than personal ability and the party's organizational competence), and Senator Hubert Humphrey (who though not running, campaigned as if he were, and who in 1954 achieved a 161,000 plurality). While such Republicans as Thye and Rep. Walter Judd (re-elected) kept party labels inside their coats (indeed, never heard of Ezra Taft Benson), the young and expertly-managed DFL organization brandished its Democratic banner at every opportunity. DFL Congressional candidate from St. Paul—Joseph Karth (New Faces," Oct. 6)—easily beat a "modern" Republican who campaigned against "labor bossism." The GOP was saved from total demoralization, however, when its 6-foot-5-inch farm candidate for Congress in the 9th District— Odin Langen—defeated two-term incumbent Coya Knutson. It was the only seat in the nation the GOP took away from the Democrats. Langen—the highly-respected minority leader in the state House of Representatives—had decently declined to discuss the blonde lady legislator's domestic troubles.

NEW JERSEY—Harrison A. Williams ("New Faces," Oct. 20) is the first elected Democratic Senator from this state since 1936. Young (38), handsome, effective on TV, twice sent to Congress from Sen. Clifford Case's old district, he beat Robert W. Kean, age 65, who served 20 years in the House and whose father and uncle were US Senators. The charge which seemed to sting Kean most was the documentation of his isolationist record. In last April's primary, Williams had strong opposition from Mayor John J. Grogan, darling of the powerhouse Hudson County machine. Hudson then gave Grogan 82,500 votes as against a mere 10,000 for Williams. But on November 4, Hudson County produced an old-fashioned 75,000 margin for Williams. And even if Hudson votes had been thrown out entirely, Williams would have carried the state by 13,000 or more. How did he do it? He had both CIO and AFL support. The registration of new voters by the Democrats since 1955 helped. So did Republican apathy. (Some GOP leaders were more interested in Knowland's race; there were several New Jersey committees raising funds for him.) Also, Williams campaigned hard for eight months; and in the last week, Governor Meyner worked nights and week-ends. Both men labored through a 12-hour telethon the day before election. Both met bone-crushing schedules laid down by Robert J. Burkhardt, who is *the* Democratic State Committee and Meyner's political strategist. The personal character of Williams' triumph is emphasized by the fact that Democrats failed to gain a single new member of Congress and lost a state Senate seat. Williams had no important press support and the polls had either given the election to Kean or predicted a photo-finish.

ARIZONA—Skillfully and indefatigably using COPE as his whipping boy, Sen. Barry Goldwater "sold" the electorate on the idea that (1) Walter Reuther and Jimmy Hoffa were "out to get" him, and (2) they were seeking control of both the Democratic Party in Arizona and the state government. In merchandising these charges, Goldwater had the rasping, day-in-day-out backing of Phoenix publisher Eugene S. Pulliam, erstwhile Indiana political kingmaker. During the month before election, the Pulliam press resembled a multi-page Goldwater campaign brochure. The *Gazette* ("Arizona's progressive newspaper") nightly ran eight-column banner warnings above its masthead, such as "Don't Surrender to Reuther." Front-page editorials charged that "American labor bosses are throwing everything they have in an effort to defeat Goldwater. . . . Naked, brutal national power is their goal." Cartoons and "news" stories backed up these accusations, together with headlines that COPE was sending $450,000 into Arizona to defeat Goldwater. (Later COPE disclosures that it had expended only $14,000 in

DEMOCRATIC TALLY[1]

	Senate			House		
	85th	*86th*		*85th*	*86th*	
Northeast	5	10		52	72	
Midwest	7	11		46	67	
West	13	17		25	31	
South	24	24		110	112	
TOTAL	49	62	(65%)	233	282	(61%)
Non-Southern Dem. margin	26%	39%		26%	39%	

Electoral votes of 34[2] states which today have Democratic Governors — 390 (the exact number Eisenhower received in '56).

If the entire South, with 128 electoral votes, should bolt, the Democratic remainder—262 (four votes short of a majority of the Electoral College).

[1] Based on 48 states: Alaska votes on November 25, with all three Democratic candidates (two Senate, one House) expected to be elected.

[2] Including Nebraska, still unofficial.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"RIGHT TO WORK"

THREE WEEKS AGO *a wandering reporter for the* Wall Street Journal *asked an elderly lady in rural Ohio how she felt about the pending "right to work" proposal. "Why, I'm against it," she said, surprised. "Isn't everybody?" As it turned out, the lady was nearly right. In Ohio the proposed ban on union shop contracts went down by nearly a million votes. It lost by the same margin in California, by 3-2 in Colorado, by 5-3 in Washington, and narrowly in Idaho. In Kansas it carried by 90,000 votes despite the fact that both candidates for Governor declared their opposition, and despite the fact that the Democrat, George Docking, won an unprecedented second term. At a rough guess the battle cost the labor movement close to $6 million. Management probably spent something less than that.*

the state got little more than a brief mention.) The Goldwater-Pulliam victory (a plurality of over 25,000 votes) was further aided by a weak and inept McFarland campaign. The only saving grace was the return to Congress of the unusually literate and effective Rep. Stewart L. Udall (D). Udall's district lies outside Maricopa County, where half the state's 390,000 registered voters live—and where the Pulliam press enjoys a monopoly in Phoenix, Arizona's biggest city. Senator Goldwater now becomes ranking Republican member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

WISCONSIN — The reasons were the same: capable, young Democratic candidates, unhappy farmers, post-recession anxiety. Voters turned out in record numbers to elect Gaylord Nelson Governor ("New Faces," Nov. 3) and re-elect Sen. William Proxmire by a larger majority than he had in last year's special election. They carried with them three other state officers, two new Democratic Congressmen (liberal Congressman Henry Reuss was re-elected), and a majority in the lower house of the legislature. Proxmire's opponent — Roland J. Steinle, predicts that Democrats will "Sovietize" America; he announced that the outcome in Wisconsin was "a victory for Reuther and Kruschev (*sic*)."

WEST VIRGINIA—"All right, all them Democrats is in, where are the jobs?" That question, asked by a seven-months unemployed carpenter, explained why Democrats took every federal office (except one Congressional seat), and all state offices by such large majorities. Qualitatively, the victory of one-time political science professor Kenneth Hechler ("New Faces," Sept. 29) over 83-year old incumbent GOP Congressman William Neal was the most impressive. Hechler never spoke about age, but the point got across. Hechler was called a "carpet bagger" and an "ADA agent" but he won by 4,000 votes. Senatorial candidate Robert C. Byrd with UMW endorsement and a collection of mountain songs which he sang to the accompaniment of his own fast fiddling retired conservative Republican Senator Revercomb (for whom the President, Nixon, Secretaries Weeks and Mitchell all campaigned). And the equally conservative Sen. John Hoblitzell, Jr. was beaten by pro-labor Jennings Randolph.

PENNSYLVANIA—Dave Lawrence's coattails weren't long enough. He took the Governorship by 80,000 votes; Democratic Senatorial nominee George Leader lost to Hugh Scott by 113,000. Mayor Lawrence's own Allegheny County gave him a mere 54,000 majority. In '54, Leader was elected Governor by a 280,000 majority; and though Eisenhower carried Pennsylvania in '56 by 600,000, Democrat Joseph Clark won the Senatorial race. Two explanations are persuasive: voters—largely suburban—disliked the Big City Machine look of the Democratic ticket. Lawrence, though enjoying wide respect, is the machine politician *par excellence;* Leader had played ball with Philadelphia boss William Green, who is under federal indictment for bribery. Second, Hugh Scott, who won by a larger majority than any other statewide candidate, campaigned hard and without visible regard for the rest of his ticket; also, during his later years in Congress he wrote a generally liberal record, won friends for his pro-Israel and civil rights stands. Democrats did capture three Congressional seats from the GOP. In the 10th District, part of the depressed anthracite region, a heavy Democratic registration finally defeated Republican incumbent Joseph Carrigg (Stanley Prokop winning); in Mr. Eisenhower's Gettysburg a capable, former Democratic Congressman, James Quigley, ousted the Republican; and Herman Toll of Philadelphia ("New Faces," Oct. 6) took the seat which Hugh Scott vacated.

MICHIGAN—While the Democrats used their billboards and TV time on lesser-known Senatorial candidate Philip A. Hart, the Republican attack turned entirely on Governor G. Mennen Williams. The result was that Williams in winning his unprecedented sixth term polled 4,600 votes less than Hart; and Hart's margin over Charles Potter was larger by 33,000 votes than Williams' edge (138,000) in his contest with GOP opponent Paul Bagwell. *The Detroit News* said in one of two editorials endorsing Hart that "despite his obvious dependence on the Reuther-Williams machine for the bulk of his votes, he has demonstrated a degree of independence." Since March, 1957, when Williams submitted a corporate profits tax to the legislature, Republicans have hammered away at their charge that he is driving industry away from Michigan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Work Ahead for Congress

I. Revising the Rules

ALTHOUGH there are more Democrats in the Senate of the 86th Congress than there have been since 1940, and although more Democrats were elected to the House this November than at any period since 1936, the Congress of the United States is far from being a democratic body. Nor is there any possibility that the 86th Congress can transform itself into a genuinely democratic body. The Senate, under our Constitution, is representative of the states and not the people. Likewise, the House, largely because of gerrymandering by state legislatures, is weighted in favor of rural areas, and does not truly reflect the population. And yet, this 86th Congress does have an opportunity and an obligation to make certain changes in its own procedures which would permit a majority to act affirmatively. These reforms, and they are the first business of the new Congress, are: providing for majority cloture in the Senate and restoring the 21-day rule in the House. Unless these revisions are made, the conservative North-South coalition, which has been in control of Congress during the last 20 years, will be able to continue interposing a check on the majority.

The filibuster is today an even more impregnable defense for conservative positions—especially on civil rights—than it was 20 years ago. For in 1949 when an effort was made to amend Rule 22 to make it easier to end talkathons, the opposition, led by the late Sen. Kenneth Wherry (R, Neb.), succeeded in making it even harder to do so. The present rule, adopted then, permits the closing of debate only if two-thirds of the *total* Senate (not two-thirds of those present and voting, as was formerly the case) vote to do so. And there is now the added qualification that even this difficult procedure does not apply to changing Rule 22 itself. Section 3 of the 1949 rule specifically provides that debate in that case be unlimited.

The experience of those who would put some reasonable limit on the right to talk endlessly proves that the only way to do so is to adopt new rules at the beginning of a new Congress. This approach was explored last year, but only in a tentative way. Always before, this avenue had been blocked by the assumption that the Senate is a "continuous body"—unlike the House, where all members serve for identical two-year terms—and that therefore its rules carry over from one Congress to the next. But in 1957, Vice President Nixon, responding to a parliamentary inquiry from Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.), categorically ruled that "there can be no question that the majority of the new existing membership of the Senate, under the Constitution, have the power to determine the rules under which the Senate will proceed." The move to change Rule 22 subsequently failed, nevertheless, when anti-filibuster supporters could not produce enough votes to defeat a motion by Majority Leader Johnson to table the proposal. But if Vice President Nixon delivers the same opinion again on opening day next January when the same motion is made, the situation, as a result of this election, will be very different.

Proponents of changing the filibuster rule started early this year to educate potential new Senators and enlist national organizations in securing public support. So much for each party hinges on the civil rights stand each party takes between now and 1960—which in turn hinges on the filibuster rule—that doubtful votes will tend toward changing Rule 22. The decisive question, therefore, may be not whether to change it, but how much.

Senate Res. 17, a bipartisan measure initiated by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), was given extensive hearings in the last Congress and approval by the Senate Rules Committee. It provides for a limit on debate if, after two days' notice, two-thirds of the Senators present and voting support cloture, or if after 15 days' notice a majority of the total Senate (49) support cloture. The more realistic Southerners, realizing that some change is probably inevitable, are already working out a strategy for stopping the reform move short of achieving cloture by a majority; instead they will seek at least to hold the line at returning to the pre-1949 rule permitting two-thirds of those *present and voting* to demand a vote, which would still permit a minority to obstruct proceedings.

MUCH more than implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 depends upon which formula succeeds. A whole array of welfare measures, beginning with school construction, have been held back by the threat of a filibuster which might tie up all business. Once that threat is removed, Congress can get on with its business.

When the 81st Congress met on January 3, 1949, after President Truman's landslide re-election, the first

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

move by the greatly enlarged Democratic majority in the House was to limit the power of its Rules Committee. The authority of the Committee and its chairman had become so great in the years since it was set up in 1789 to make the rules for the first Congress that Mr. Truman had found it almost impossible to operate in his first term. Six votes of the 12-man Rules Committee were enough to pigeonhole a measure indefinitely and prevent its coming to a vote on the floor. And although it is supposed in theory to represent the will of the majority party, the Committee by the operation of the seniority system had become largely the property of Southerners with views similar to those of conservative Chairman Howard W. Smith (D, Va.).

At Truman's urging, the House in 1949 voted 275-143 to let any bill be brought up on the floor if it had been before the Rules Committee for as long as 21 days. Using the 21-day rule, the 81st Congress freed many measures tied up in the Rules Committee, including bills to abolish the poll tax, create the National Science Foundation, improve rivers and harbors, and grant statehood to Hawaii and Alaska. But when the non-Southern Democratic majority diminished after the election of 1950, the 21-day rule was immediately rescinded.

The lack of any relief from arbitrary blocking action in the Rules Committee has been keenly felt since. The last session ended with several major bills unconsidered because the Committee would not grant them rules: among them, the $2.5 billion housing bill, authorization for the TVA to issue its own bonds and legislation to ease court congestion by appointing more federal judges.

This election has not touched the conservative majority of the Committee responsible for these acts (Hugh Scott, the most liberal Republican on the Committee, graduated to the Senate). And if the next Congress desires to consider even more liberal measures, the Rules Committee will be an even higher hurdle.

The 86th Congress will need the 21-day rule—and perhaps an expanded, more representative Rules Committee as well—to deal with a chairman who challenges the purpose for which his committee was set up: to regulate the flow of legislation from the standing committees to the House floor. "My people," Smith says, "didn't elect me to be just a traffic cop."

II. Seeing What Needs To Be Done

LET US SUPPOSE that the rules of lawmaking are adequately revised at the opening of the Congressional term the first week in January. How then will this heavily Democratic Congress translate the authority it has into a legislative program?

A Congressman up for re-election has two options: he can prepare for his ordeal by annoying as few of his constituents as possible, or by establishing a record to which he later points with pride. The consensus seems to be that at least in the areas of big Democratic gains last week—areas where the recession had had its greatest impact—the vote was largely influenced by annoyance. Voters wanted to show that they were against the recent past rather than for the upcoming future.

This Congress, however, would be ill-advised if it prepared for 1960 and the winning of the executive branch by a posture of relaxed amiability. A period of rest and consolidation was desired by most of the nation in 1952, but by 1958 voters had become restless. There are many things which they need and want, and not the least of these is leadership that is convinced the United States can do almost anything it determines to do. While the perennial desire of taxpayers not to have to pay for what they want is also evident, so is the desire not to defer getting them until a crash program is necessary—and the bill is higher.

Although we are by no means so presumptious as to propose specific bills for consideration by the 86th Congress, and while we are aware of the substantive work recently accomplished through committee hearings in a number of fields, we do have our presumptions about what this Congress needs to have accomplished by the time it goes back for renewal in two years. And since the Class of 1959 is the ablest incoming group that even the old-timers around Washington remember, we expect great things.

We start our list with a warning. The Democratic Party identifies itself as the party of the people. It therefore behooves the Democratic majority to be *contemporary in its assumptions about who the people are.* Descriptions of the people which were accurate the last time the Democrats had a majority of present proportions are meaningless today, and the importance of working from modern descriptions cannot be over-emphasized. In the new descriptions, major changes show up, both in the lower third on the American economic ladder, and in the upper two-thirds—the dwellers in the new suburban areas where most votes are found.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Those Senior Citizens

THE *Congressional Record* is not recommended for regular bedside reading. Yet, the new Congress may avoid some future nightmares if it turns back to the debates of the mid-thirties when social security was first discussed. The time devoted to the merits of the new bill was small in comparison with the time consumed in stalling off the old-age pension proposals of the Townsend Movement. By 1965, one out of every 11 Americans will be 65 or over (the proportion steepens thereafter), and in respect to income, a very considerable number of these 18 million people will be in the lower third. If Congress does not recognize the needs of the elderly in time, a political movement on their behalf—remember, they're all voters—will make the Townsendite pressures seem mild, and their demands reasonable.

A physician said the other day that it's hard enough to get into this world, but it's a lot harder to get out of it, and harder still to get out of it with dignity. The agenda of the 86th Congress should include upward revision of social security benefits, housing for the elderly, and medical care.

We are not thinking only of quantity—so many more dollars for so many more bricks for so many more blocks of apartments that often resemble prisons. Housing for the aged needs special planning. Let Congress study how the city of Rotterdam has interspaced no-steps apartment buildings for older people among the several-story multiple dwellings of the new garden cities; couples whose children have long since grown up can have young friends and feel themselves part of a complete community, rather than feeling shut away.

Medical Care and Costs

THE medical care that older people need shows few signs of materializing. While the aged, in a study made some years ago, were shown to have received 208 days of hospital care per 100 persons as compared to 113 for the general population, the number of available hospital beds—particularly in institutions for chronic diseases—has not kept pace with the growth in our population. Unless some 14 to 20 new medical schools are established soon, the current ratio of doctors—130 to each 100,000 people (for comparison, the ratio in the Soviet Union in 1957 was 170 MD's to each 100,000 people)—is scheduled for rapid decline. And this at a time when the very young and the very old are expanding parts of the country's age distribution. We believe that the technique of the Hill-Burton Act, passed in 1946 and under which federal grants are made to the states

for the construction of hospitals, is capable of adaptation to various new health uses.

Out of a current gross national product of $440 billion, one-tenth of one percent is all that is presently spent for every sort of medical research. The Bayne-Jones Report, released this summer, recommends an annual expenditure of $1 billion by 1970. Meanwhile, three diseases kill a total of nearly a million Americans a year: diseases of the heart, cancer, and vascular lesions such as cerebral hemorrhages. Mental illness afflicts hundreds of thousands of others. According to the Director of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, Dr. Jack R. Ewalt, "the total direct and indirect costs of mental illness in the United States may be safely assumed to be in excess of $3 billion a year."

Voters of all ages are increasingly aroused about the cost of medical care. It bears most heavily on the aged because their earning days are for the most part over. But the generation now at work normally has growing children and frequently has elderly parents whose medical bills come to the same desk as the pay check. The inclusion of medical care in the social security structure has already been proposed in various bills, and we suggest the matter be acted upon by this Congress. We commend Senator Neuberger for his recently announced intention to crusade for more cancer research, and we urge his colleagues to recall what was accomplished by a concentrated attack on the polio virus and consider what could be done with afflictions that attack much larger segments of the population than polio ever did.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Training for Jobs

A SECOND and growing group in today's lower third is a special category of unemployed. The least privileged in New Deal days included many who were unemployed because there were no jobs. Today, more and more are unemployed not because there are no jobs, but because they do not have the training to take jobs which exist and are unfilled.

We are now experiencing a lag between the drop in unemployment and the rise in business activity. The slow decline in unemployment figures—while business indices go up—is in part due to the displacement of unskilled or semi-skilled workers by automation, and their inability to take the more technical service jobs which increased mechanization produces.

Among the training programs which could lessen this kind of unemployment are those for farm youth. Some say: let them get off the farm; we need fewer farmers. We do not share the view that the 11 percent reduction in the number of farms and the reduction by 4 million in the number of people living on farms since 1952 has necessarily been a good thing. We have no nostalgia for marginal farming, but we point out that a move to the city does not necessarily better the lot of the farm family that moves.

The farm family deserves better prospects than casual work or unemployment in industrial areas. We anticipate that the 86th Congress will take action to correct the present farm program, under which an expenditure of $6.8 billion in fiscal year 1958 has been accompanied by record accumulations of price-depressing surpluses. But in taking that corrective action, the 86th Congress should devise some ways by which the farm youths can be best prepared vocationally for the jobs that *are* here to be done.

Among farm-to-city migrants, many are Negroes. The places to which they move may be places where Fair Employment Practice laws apply, but the FEPC laws quite properly provide no more than that employment opportunities shall be equal for persons of equal skill. The upgrading of Negro skills, to promote progress toward higher living standards, is not only just and desirable for itself but has a by-product in the lessening of racial tensions.

A Texas tycoon (and a self-styled Dixiecrat), when asked shortly before the first Supreme Court ruling what the reaction to a requirement of desegregation would be, replied that there might be trouble in states like Mississippi or Georgia, but that it wouldn't amount to much in Texas: "You know," he confided, "they aren't half so obnoxious when they've got purchasing power!" Both the housing situation in the North and the school situation in the South are directly related to differences in living standards; the upgraded Negro who has been able to take better training advances the community as well as himself.

As it considers the need for upgrading the lower third, Congress should also look ahead—no further indeed than to the middle of the first term of the newly-elected Senator—to the national problem of employing even highly trained youngsters in 1961. And then to the still more acute problem of providing sufficient jobs for them in 1965.

Those are the years in which the baby crop of war's beginning and war's end finishes its schooling. There will be 380,000 more 18-year olds in 1961 than there were in 1960. And in 1965—when those of the class of 1961 who go on to college will be ready for work in unusual numbers—the number of 18-year olds will jump in that single year by more than one million. If there is not to be a colossal waste of this youth, Congress should foresee the employment problem that will then exist. It should now begin mobilization of all means—private and public—for assuring that there are useful things for these young people to do. If public works are necessary to supplement private absorption of these energies, then the program should be prepared far enough in advance so as to provide both employment and lasting public advantage comparable to that afforded by the CCC camps a generation ago.

Public Services

THE Democratic majority may find it easier to be contemporary in meeting the needs of people such as those just discussed than in responding to the needs of constituents whose parents may have been in yesterday's lower third, but who today are in higher income brackets. To illustrate, when there is work in Gary, Indiana, practically all members of the United Steel Workers get an income higher than the median income of the country. They live in postwar housing, surrounded by small but attractive yards and served by modern conveniences. This is a very big change from the life of the unorganized steel worker of 1933. In such an area, and in suburbia generally, many of the old party appeals no longer appeal. The world to which they were addressed has passed away.

These lower or upper middle-class families are interested in facilities. Since many of them now have the staple consumers goods, they are more and more aware of the deficit in *community* goods—schools, roads, public services of all sorts. The affection of a voter who is enabled to get to work five minutes faster, or 10 brake-screeches less harried, is likely to be a durable good when the next balloting takes place.

Providing these facilities requires careful cooperation between federal, state and local authorities. It means

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

federal interest in the needs of communities eager to reduce their public works deficits. It means adoption by Congress of such measures as the community facilities bill, which lost last session, and would have enabled municipalities to borrow money at less-than-market rates.

As to schools, for all the grim oratory that echoed in Congress after the first Soviet Sputnik, the national response to educational needs was trivial. Last year's education bill—we regret that its title had to carry the word "defense" as a vote-catcher — was only a beginning, though a good one! In addition to making available facilities for the teaching of science, mathematics and languages, it offered fellowships and loans which will help American students develop their capacities to the limit.

But once again, let this Congress look at what is and what will be. With school classroom deficit of 140,400 rooms when school opened this September, and with 132,000 teaching jobs for which qualified teachers were not available, and with a school population through the 12th grade scheduled to rise from its present 34.7 million to 40 million by 1965, there is surely much that remains to be done by the federal government.

The Price Level

PERHAPS the most important of all subjects to which the incoming Congress should address itself, and one which relates to practically all the programs we have previously mentioned, is control of inflation. In the 25 years since the Democratic Party received a Congressional vote such as last Tuesday's, an erosion of the dollar has taken place wholly comparable to the soil erosion which the New Deal did so much to arrest. The value which many of the New Deal programs put into people's pockets has been leached out year after year; repeated revisions of the Social Security Act have done no more than hold on to the small benefits envisaged at the time of that Act's adoption.

The suffering of people with fixed incomes, the parallel suffering of institutions such as colleges, hospitals, museums, has recently begun to affect workers with take-home-pay envelopes, as well as executives with expense accounts. Many of those who recently campaigned for office will probably share our judgment that the cost of living is hurting—and not just a few.

The remedies do not lie in the restrictive, hard-money policies of this Administration. We have tried specific commodity controls and general monetary controls: both have demonstrated their weaknesses. Thus far, the tools for guiding the economy along the path of full employment and a stable price level are not even off the drawing boards. A declining price level, declining not because of recession but because *the fruits of productivity in an expanding economy are widely shared*, may well become a central issue in domestic policy. This is especially so since inflation is particularly destructive in a period when increased portions of the national product are spent for public services that cannot be supplied by private sources. We believe the country is entering just such a period.

National Defense

IN THE DEFENSE area, where 70 percent of federal expenditures are made, an agonizing reappraisal is long overdue of the Eisenhower Administration's basic postulate: nuclear weapons provide a useable and a less costly defense. That reappraisal can and should be undertaken by an appropriate special committee of the Senate and House. The assumptions that underlie "nuclear deterrence," namely, that "aggression" can be prevented by the threat of nuclear "punishment," and that the commitment to nuclear weapons bestows an advantage on our forces that will make the threat credible, have been bankrupt since the Red Army became an atomic army.

The events in the Middle and Far East in the past four months surely have demonstrated that the kind of military force we need to be able to exert must present a minimum of hazard to the local population, some of whom are and all of whom we want to make our friends and allies. A minimum of hazard is emphatically not the promise of "limited nuclear war."

So far we have been lucky, because the conventional military forces we have left have been sufficient. But if our Marines had gone shooting into Lebanon, the situation would have been far different. It is unbelievable that the President would have authorized them to use nuclear weapons, no matter how "small," against Iraqi or Egyptian-Syrian forces, even with Soviet "volunteers" in their ranks. The alternatives would have been a drawn-out affair—prolonged while we built up our conventional strength—or defeat. Without endorsing the use of force either in Lebanon in July or in the Formosa Strait since August, we do believe that the West's strongest nation must be able to use force in case of legitimate need. But emphasis should be placed upon the *useability* of the force, not upon its capacity to maximize the destruction per dollar of expenditure.

Nuclear weapons, including "tactical" ones, are probably here to stay. Our forces must be able to use them, if only to discourage the other side from their use. Moreover, dual capability forces *are* expensive. But what we are buying when we buy conventional military forces is freedom of choice between the alternatives of using our strength intelligently and backing down because we have insufficient strength we *can* use intelligently. We cannot get the freedom of choice at a bargain. The President is Commander-in-Chief. But the Congress pays the Pentagon's bills and is also a custodian of our security.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Foreign Policy

IN THE ARITHMETIC of the Senate cloakroom, the possibility of some change for the better in our foreign policy is a matter of five promising Democratic additions —Williams of New Jersey, Muskie of Maine, Hart of Michigan, McCarthy of Minnesota, McGee of Wyoming —and one highly important minus: William Knowland. The minus eliminates one alibi that was used to forestall any Congressional initiative on such questions as our Far East policies. And the five newcomers (who appear to know their mind on international affairs, and who are of one mind on such important issues as the US role in Asia and Africa) may give new bargaining power to those Foreign Relations Committee veterans (Fulbright, Humphrey, Kennedy, Mansfield and Morse) who have, in varying measure, sought to keep Mr. Dulles straight.

Senator Fulbright as the senior Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee inherits an opportunity for great influence in the two years of President Eisenhower's—and inevitably Secretary Dulles'—waning authority. Senator Fulbright is a known quantity on major foreign policy questions: he is most recently remembered for his sweeping attack in August on the military over-emphasis in our policy; it was Fulbright also, to take a significant earlier example, who spoke out with remarkable prescience in 1954 against our unprofitable military aid commitment to Pakistan. Thus, while the prospect of enhanced influence for Fulbright and other Committee veterans is cause for hope, Lyndon Johnson's apparent ambition to become a statesman merely raises questions. Little is known of his views on foreign policy; what he has said and done so far suggests that in his own mind he is not far from Mr. Dulles. Even on such a relatively safe—but crucially important—matter as the Development Loan Fund appropriation in the last Congress, Mr. Johnson's parliamentary talents served in effect to set the DLF figure at the $300 million which came out of conference rather than the $625 million which had been asked. Perhaps Mr. Johnson, should he ever take a position on some substantive question of foreign affairs, will acquire recognition as something more than a fixer. But we will be pleased if, as one Congressional prophet predicts, he can be pushed "ten or fifteen degrees" in the right directions.

What are some of the "right directions"—given the Executive's responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs—which are within the bounds of Congressional authority? Foreign economic policy is the one sphere in which the new Congressional majority seems most likely to mean a change for the better. Mr.C. Douglas Dillon, able Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, is said to advocate an Administration request to Congress for an enlarged US contribution to the World Bank and a DLF appropriation of at least $1 billion. But the President's attacks on "spenders" reflect some opposition within the Administration to a big economic aid budget, especially to the long-term financing so essential for the DLF; and here stronger-than-ever Democratic support, declared early and in bipartisan accents, may be decisive. When the Administration request does reach Congress, we hope that Democratic House leaders will do better than they have in the past in preventing mutilation of DLF budget requests. The DLF must get from this Congress the added flexibility—requested but denied previously—of authority to borrow from the Treasury. In the absence of a Loan Fund adequately capitalized and sufficiently flexible, the Congress may have to consider special programs such as a US contribution to the Colombo Plan for Asia-wide economic development and a line of credit to support the Third Indian Five-Year Plan.

Another area where the new Congress should, in our view, consider an initiative of its own is China policy. The political restrictions on our freedom of action in the Far East were made in Congress—by Congressional Resolutions—and there they must be removed. Mr. Dulles cannot be blamed when he justifies his diplomacy by reference to the Formosa Resolution of 1955 and the three separate Congressional resolutions opposing Communist China's UN entry (not to mention the repeated declarations against UN entry inserted in mutual security bills since the Korean War). Now that the dust has settled on these earlier Congressional initiatives, the new Congress in a new political atmosphere should consider a new resolution—redefining Nationalist sovereignty as being limited in US eyes to Formosa and the Pescadores.

Apart from specific legislative initiatives, the 86th Congress can, if it will, give a new tone to the conduct of our foreign affairs. But not if the Democratic leadership tries to squelch those who are distressed by Secretary Dulles' diplomacy and want to criticize it publicly. A new tone demands the kind of candid discussion (notably absent since Joseph McCarthy's day) which can bridge the gap between informed specialists and public opinion. Senator Mansfield has called for "formal speeches which would represent careful thought and explorations of issues of vital importance." That is fine, but in the recent Senate debate on foreign affairs, Messrs. Mansfield, Humphrey, Fulbright and Kennedy and a courageous Republican, John Sherman Cooper, have talked to each other. Frank speeches by more internationally-minded members of Congress would help the public better understand the requirements of leadership in 1958.

Senator Fulbright's $300,000 foreign policy review should introduce some fresh thought when the 14 separate studies now being commissioned are completed, some time late next year. But the Congress cannot sit on its hands until then. It has a great leverage in its power to appropriate; it confirms appointments. In a hundred and one ways, it can help brighten the picture America holds up for the world to see.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Are the Poor In This "Affluent Society"?

Today's "One-Third of a Nation"

by HELEN HILL MILLER

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, in his second inaugural, made a national issue of the fact that a third of the nation was "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." That was 21 years ago, and much has changed in America. We have had two decades of rapid economic growth. Yet there is always a lowest third.

Who belongs to the lower third today? Where do they live? What do they live on? How great is the likelihood that they, like many of their predecessors of the 1930's, will soon move up the income scale?

Before making comparisons between 1958 and 1937, several warnings must be thoughtfully read. There are the effects of inflation to consider: the family that had $500 in the latter thirties had about the same purchasing power as the family with $2,000 now. Because the only statistics we have give income per family, we must consider changes in the *number* of persons in the average low-income family unit, and the *ages* of its members. Here we find that the *numbers* have gone down and the *ages* have gone up in recent years. There is a third cautionary factor—population growth. In 1935-36 there were in this country 38.2 million families or unattached individuals who lived as consumer units; but by 1957 there were 53.5 million, so that the same fraction of the populations of the two periods represents quite different numbers of people. Yet, keeping in mind these variations, it is possible to compare the least-privileged "third of the nation" then and now.

Let's first take the population as a whole. A comparison of total income in the two periods presents a striking contrast. A generation ago, among the consuming units in the country, the income most commonly received was less than $1,000, and more than *75 percent of all units had incomes under $2,000.* By the close of World War II, only about 30 percent of all units received less than $2,000 a year; by 1947, the most commonly received income was in the $3,000-$3,500 bracket; by 1957, it had reached $4,500-$5,000. The time is close when a third of the nation will be in the group whose incomes are $5,000 or better. In 1935-36, if one charted the distribution of income, it looked like a broad-based pyramid; today, it has the outlines of a Christmas tree. Table I (page 14) shows the trend.

This superficially dazzling improvement loses some of its brilliance, however, when the effect of intervening inflation on the price level is taken into account, and when recently increased dollar incomes are reduced to their real purchasing power as compared to that of 1935-36. Even if only the postwar period is included, the reduction is sharp. On the surface, the fact that the number of families who did not have more than $2,000 dropped by more than a million between 1948-1954 looks promising. *But the consumer price level went up 12 percent in this same interval.* Thus, if 1954 incomes are deflated to show their purchasing power in 1948 dollars, it appears that the number of families with incomes in the under-$2,000 group was not so different in 1954 as in 1948—9.6 million in '48 and 9.4 million in '54—and the number of unattached individuals in the low bracket actually rose by more than half a million in the interval.

In the chart on page 15, we can see how the distribution curve of family income has swayed upward over the decade. *But,* the big boom took place in the upper incomes. On the lower rungs of the ladder, considerable numbers of people were clearly unable to keep up with their climbing fellow-citizens. And so we find that, despite the rave notices given to the recent performance of the American economy, 14 percent of consumer units in 1957 still had incomes under $2,000. Who are these people, and why did they get left behind?

☆

Not one, but several reasons have kept families tied to the lowest rungs of the income ladder, or have caused families with previously higher standards of living to slip down.

►There are, first of all, the farm operator families living on farm units too small, or on land too poor, to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TABLE I—*Distribution of family income, 1935-1957*

Family personal income level (before income taxes)	Number of families and unattached individuals (in millions)					
	1935-6	*1944*	*1947*	*1950*	*1957*	
Under $1,000	16.7	4.4	3.7	3.7		
$1,000-1,999	13.1	8.1	7.4	7.3	7.3	under $2,000
2,000-2,999	5.0	8.8	8.5	8.0	12.1	$2,000- 3,999
3,000-3,999	1.7	7.7	8.6	8.5	13.6	4,000- 5,999
4,000-4,999	.6	4.5	5.7	7.0	9.6	6,000- 7,999
5,000-5,749	.6	4.8	6.6	8.5	4.8	8,000- 9,999
7,500-9,999	.2	1.4	2.2	2.9	3.9	10,000-14,999
10,000 & over	.3	1.2	2.0	2.7	2.2	over $15,000
	38.2	40.9	44.7	48.6	53.5	

produce an adequate income from agriculture by modern technology. In 1954, more than half the farms of the nation sold less than 10 percent of the farm products marketed. Almost half a million farms, operated by men who made it their main occupation, sold their products for from $250 to $1,199, with production costs to be paid out of these totals. The location of many of these farm families brings to mind FDR's designation of the South as the Nation's Economic Problem Number One. By 1954, Southern income had gone a long way toward catching up with the national average—in 1927-29 the per capita income of the Southeast was only 52 percent of the national average while by 1953-55 it had reached 69 percent—but a difference still remains.

►Second, the lowest one-third of the nation includes many elderly couples, or elderly individuals living alone: those too old to work who live on pensions, social security, or public assistance at a standard continually depressed by inflation. In 1954 nearly one-third of the families with incomes under $1,000 were headed by persons over 65, and 46 percent of the unrelated individuals were over 65, as compared with only 10 percent of the families with incomes of $3,000 or more. The effect of retirement is visible when we see that less than half of the units in the lowest income fifth of the population received any wages and salaries, as compared with 80 percent in the other income groups. Of the 8.5 million substandard urban units in 1950, 2.5 million were single women.

►Next, today's "one-third of a nation" includes those in broken homes, lacking a normal breadwinner. About an eighth of low-income families in 1954 were headed by women between 21 and 64 years of age, many of whom could not go into the labor market because of family responsibilities or ill-health. Of families with incomes under $1,000, 44 percent were headed by persons not in the labor force, as were 37 percent of the families in the $1,000-2,000 range; this contrasts with only 8 percent of the families with incomes above $3,000.

►Also, the lowest third has in it people who either couldn't get, or couldn't take, educational opportunity. In the 2.5 million families—one in three of those with incomes under $2,000—whose head worked at a non-farm job, 41 percent of the breadwinners worked as operatives (semi-skilled factory workers) or in service jobs; the earnings of workers who had not gone beyond grade school were materially less than those who had attended high school. The disadvantage of age in the low-income group shows up again in the country's over-all educational levels: among the heads of families in the 25-34 year age bracket, some 13.5 percent had finished high school and 5.4 percent had gone to college, as compared to 3.3 percent with high school and 1.2 percent with college training among heads of families who were 65 or over.

►Then there are the racially disadvantaged groups. In 1950, when about 9 percent of all urban households were non-white, 20 percent of the substandard households were non-white.

►Finally, the least-privileged of 1957 include many who are not well. Estimates of the physically and mentally handicapped suggest a figure of 5.3 million persons whose disability impairs their capacity to earn; of these, some 2.9 million are aged 14-64; some 2.2 million are 65 and over.

☆

If these, then, are the main components of the low-income group, how good are the chances of today's lowest third to improve their position and share more fully in the national prosperity? My guess is that their chances are less good than were the chances of their predecessors —even though economic opportunity in the depression years was far more limited in proportion to available skills than it is today; a generation ago, the elderly group in the population was smaller.

However, interest in the low-income group has recently taken on a new dimension, and more attention is likely to be given in the future to helping today's low-income people to reach higher standards.

Looking back, we see that in the years 1933-41, from the New Deal to the Four Freedoms, the opportunity to achieve freedom from want was nailed down as the birthright of every American. The fight against poverty, whose amelioration had previously been thought of in terms of charity, became the driving force of a national effort. From WPA and PWA to social security and public assistance, the country spelled out its new national purpose. Then with passage of the Full Employment Act of 1946, low earnings began to be viewed as deleterious not only to the individual, but to the collectivity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of which he is a part. The disadvantaged person began to be regarded as a disadvantage to the state.

This fairly new attitude toward the lowest third of the nation is seen, for example, in the progress report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Problem of Low Incomes of New York State, appointed two years ago by Governor Averell Harriman. "The continued existence," says the report,

> of families and individuals with inadequate incomes during the periods when the standard of living of most families has been rising is one of the major challenges facing our American society. Families with chronically low incomes are not full participants in our economic life. They contribute little as producers, and as consumers their purchasing power is limited. The cost of well-planned programs to improve the ability of such individuals and families to obtain higher levels of earnings and to make a larger contribution to society will be more than returned over a period of time. Raising the economic levels of these lowest economic groups thus benefits not only the families and individuals concerned but the entire economy. Today we cannot afford to limit our efforts to achieve maximum utilization of all our human resources.

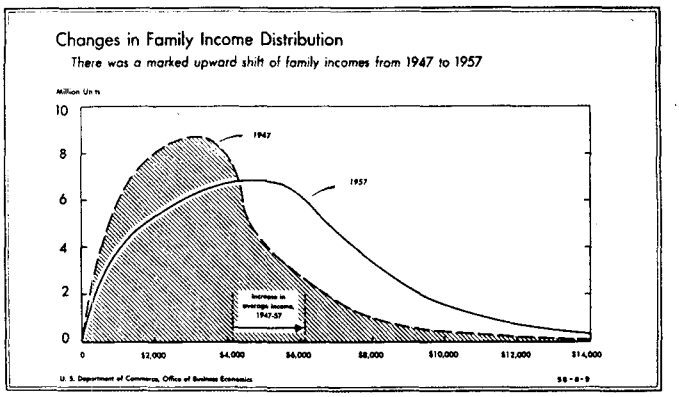
From a statewide household survey conducted in New York last year, this Committee has obtained up-to-the-minute data on low incomes in a state whose upstate areas include substandard farm land and declining industrial centers, and whose metropolitan congestion produces some of the worst urban squalor in America—white, Negro and Puerto Rican. The Committee says that between 1949 and 1956, the number of low-income families went down about a third, and the public assistance rate declined 20 percent.

Between the years 1950 and 1956, the average number of years of schooling completed by persons 25 years of age and older rose from 9.6 to 10.7; 69 percent of the young men aged 20-24 had completed high school as compared with 57 percent six years earlier. (The relation of education to earning power is emphasized by the study's finding that only 25 percent of the men in the lowest-paid labor and service occupations had finished high school, as compared with 75 percent of those in managerial and professional occupations.)

But the Committee had been charged by Governor Harriman not only with responsibility for collecting facts on the underprivileged of New York, but with proposing programs to speed the transition of the lowest-income class upward. It recommended:

1. Training for the more than 200,000 children in families receiving public assistance to help them break the cycle of low income, and for the children of farm families in marginal areas so that they might be able to fit themselves for non-farm employment.

2. Child guidance clinics and special vocational education for children for whom current educational offerings are unsuitable, and aid for children who now drop out of school for economic reasons.



3. Rehabilitation to enable handicapped persons and recipients of workmen's compensation to enter or re-enter remunerative employment, and to enable older persons to undertake a greater degree of self-care.

4. Guidance for disturbed families.

5. Programs to diminish discrimination in employment of minority groups.

Cooperative pilot projects with joint participation by all concerned state agencies are now under way in each of these five areas. Their justification, from the standpoint of the whole community, can be found in the Committee's statement on the 4,500 persons rehabilitated in New York in the fiscal year 1956-57. Fifteen percent of them had been receiving public assistance to a total of $827,500 a year. Before rehabilitation, the group's earnings were about $2 million; afterwards, they earned $11¼ million. In terms of income tax alone, the return to the government over the remainder of their working lives is estimated to be $10 for every $1 spent on rehabilitating them.

But the findings of the recent studies just reviewed belie the assumption that no one is really poor any more. In addition, this is a period when economic and social interdependence on a cash basis has crowded out the old agricultural self-sufficiency, when the old oaken bucket has been replaced by a water meter on which monthly bills are rendered, when the old wood stove is no longer fueled from the woodlot which has become a subdivision, when living on products-in-kind has been replaced for hundreds of thousands of people by living on products-for-cash. The existence of hundreds of thousands of poor people—ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed in today's surroundings of greatly increased national prosperity—is no less of a public issue, no less of a weakness in the American system because the upward movement of other incomes obscures the conditions in which they live.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A COMMUNICATION

Leon Keyserling on Economic Expansion

SIRS:

THE RESPONSES of my good friends, Professors Galbraith and Schlesinger, to my earlier criticisms in *The New Republic* are — as usual with them — generous, sincere and distinctively urbane. Their techniques differ. Galbraith stands by his original position as firmly as Fitz James, which gives him some advantages but also makes him easier to hit.

Schlesinger shifts his position with ease, which gets his critic off balance, but gets him more off balance. He also attempts to shift his critic's position. He says that I compared Hogan favorably with Royal S. Copeland whom I called "a good man and true." On this ground, he alleges that I really did not mean it when I said that it would be much better to have Finletter in the Senate than Hogan, and he calls this "nonsense." The nonsense is his, not mine, because I mentioned the nomination of Copeland during the New Deal era only to indicate that the Democratic Party in New York City has not changed since then as much as Schlesinger thinks, *not* to compare Copeland or Hogan with Finletter. Then Schlesinger says that I "down-grade" the eggheads, and cites the great importance of Lord Keynes. But Keynes was significant for the substantive economic programs he developed and his success in persuading others of their merits, not because of the candidates he favored nor for the direct political action in which he engaged; and this is precisely my point about eggheads. I accept Schlesinger's assurances that he had not reached a "conclusion," but was merely appraising a "tendency in the Democratic Party of the Northeast." But even as a tendency, I think that the death rattle which he detected in the throat of the Democratic Party was a diagnosis not supported by his illustrations. And the caliber of so many of the Democratic victors in the nationwide sweep last week convinces me that the Party now has an intellectual quality and a liberal potential as great or greater than in the early days of the New Deal. I have always appreciated that Schlesinger is no isolationist; neither is Galbraith. But their reformulations of economic and political approaches tend to play into the hands of the isolationists.

Galbraith's response to my evaluation of his book (*The Affluent Society*) is not addressed at all to my evaluation. Rather, it is a summary of his original position. He adds only the incorrect implication that liberals who disagree with him as to how best to fight inflation tend "to accept it as inevitable," and that in general I am behind the times with "an affinity for the old battles." These are not even attempted answers to serious critical analysis.

Galbraith readily states that, during the years when was on the Council of Economic Advisors between 194(and 1953, "nothing else solved so much nor paved the way for so many solutions" as the high rate of economic growth which I favor; and he is overly kind in attributing to me some of the credit. Yet he evidently feels that, in the short five years since 1953, some strange sea-change has taken place at home and in the world which makes a high rate of US economic growth no longer of great importance. But the facts, which he never quite gets around to, are to the contrary.

Today, our world responsibilities, our domestic private poverty, and the deficiencies in our domestic public programs are so massive relative to our total current production that a high rate of growth in total production is even more imperative than five years ago. Galbraith is of course right that we *could* produce enough to meet all our needs, and still fail by using the product unwisely. But this is an hypothetical abstraction; assuredly, we *cannot* utilize what we do not produce, and scarcity does not spawn wisdom.

The national economic policies, which Galbraith suggests as being more in step with the times, come perilously close in philosophy and impact to the actual economic policies which we have had more recently. Viewed empirically, these "new" policies have given us a low rate of economic growth, recessions more than half of the time, a rising level of chronic unemployment of plant and manpower, a gross neglect of private poverty, solely inadequate attention to our national defense, and starvation of our essential domestic public services. And, while Galbraith's book employs an ironical attack upon what he calls the "conventional wisdom" of economics to propitiate those who have a taste for ostensible iconoclasm, the book actually embraces some of the outmoded theories of conventional economics which neither describe accurately nor deal appropriately with the economy of today and the problems now confronting us.

☆

For example, Galbraith in his response to me repeats his theoretical proposition that a sustained full employment policy in relative peacetime is more conducive to price inflation than an economy which tolerates a moderately high level of unemployment; and therefore, he leans toward acceptance of far more than minimum unemployment. This is the "conventional wisdom" with a vengeance—the "wisdom" which Messrs. George Humphrey, William McChesney Martin, Jr., *et al.*, have applied with such telling effect. I submit, instead, that factual developments in our economy during the most recent years show that full employment and a high growth rate are *less* inflationary than more unemployment and a low growth rate. In various published studies, and in Congressional testimony, I have marshalled the facts on this subject thoroughly and analyzed them fully. But on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this issue, Galbraith does not really examine the actualities which refute the "conventional wisdom."

Galbraith proposes that unemployment benefits should approximate the wage level when unemployment is high, but be substantially reduced when unemployment is lower. He argues that those who are unemployed when general unemployment is low may be without work through some fault of their own, and that a low rate of insurance benefits would stimulate them to get jobs. This is nothing "new"; it has long been the hallmark of the "conventional wisdom" to assume malingering, and to suggest deprivation as a goad to work. Similarly, Galbraith insists that most or all of those who live in poverty on incomes below $1,000 a year have their personal deficiencies rather than the general operations of the economy to blame, and can be helped only by education and health programs which will make the next generation better men than their fathers. Granted that we need these programs among others, this personal fault "explanation" of poverty smacks also of the "conventional wisdom."

Galbraith attempts to answer my deep concern about the poverty of many millions of families with incomes between $1,000 and $4,000 a year by reasserting that his proposals are highly relevant to families with incomes below $1,000 a year, and that for them rapid economic growth is not highly relevant. But when he draws conclusions about economic growth which manifestly purport to be valid in the perspective of the whole economy, and when his book certainly essays over-all reconstruction of our economic thought and action, he cannot justify policy conclusions which offer slight hope to the *almost 17 million* American multiple-person and single-person families above $1,000 but below $4,000, most of whom certainly live in poverty by current US standards. Only rapid economic growth can help these families much; and Galbraith's error on this score is not ameliorated by his rebuttal declaration that he cares about these families too.

Galbraith repeats without evidence that he doubts whether a high rate of economic growth makes easier an adequate level of essential public services. But the facts show that there has been a high positive correlation between rapid economic growth and improved attention to the things we need most, and a similar positive correlation between low economic growth and neglect of our most important economic priorities. In support of his theory that growth does not assure attention to these priorities, Galbraith cites the recent default with respect to international economic assistance. High growth may not be an assurance, but it is nonetheless an economic and political *sine qua non*. Moreover, the most recent five years have been characterized by a dismally low rate of economic growth (less than half of the desirable rate), and therefore the facts vindicate my conclusion that a low growth rate is highly injurious to public programs. My friend entirely ignores my point that, without any quantification of *how much* additional public services we need, his discussion of how to get these services is without practical foundation and therefore unrealistic.

On the international front, Galbraith says that I am like "a polished debater" trying to score an unfair point when I refer to the use in his book of the phrase "an affluent world." He says that he clearly used this term idiomatically to refer to the United States. I did not say that he regarded the world at large as affluent, but only that his reference to the United States as "an affluent *world*" dramatized his preoccupation solely with domestic problems. His conclusion that the United States does not need a high rate of economic growth cannot be reconciled with vast enlargement of our economic relationships with the five continents which he neglects. Hence his conclusion itself is invalid, unless we in the United States can afford to continue to neglect our economic responsibilities with respect to these five continents. We cannot.

Galbraith is categorically wrong, when he says that I give a higher priority to the problem of economic growth than to the problem of getting sufficient resources into public use. My position is that these two problems interpenetrate throughout; and that a sound grasp of the whole economy in operation must achieve synthesis rather than dichotomy with respect to these two problems. In fact, Galbraith's curious insistence that the only way to get more of one thing we need is to sacrifice another thing we need, rather than to use our productive potentials fully to achieve both, is far from "new." It seems to me to be a reversion to earlier "equalitarian" thinking, based upon the economic and political impracticality of suppressing one valid interest in order to serve another, instead of grasping the promise of the new technology. An outstanding example of this is Galbraith's proposal that a society as relatively affluent as ours, with its burgeoning new technological potentials, can find no better way to an adequate level of public services than taking still more away from the quarter of our population who are still poor through sales taxes on food and other necessities.

☆

The critical problem of underdeveloped countries such as India, of countries such as Israel, and also of Russia and China, has been to suppress living standards and immediate personal progress in order to find the resources to do the things which they deem they need first. The sacrifices toward these ends have been hard and bitter. The central tower of our strength in the United States is that we do not have to make this choice. But if we should nonetheless force this choice upon ourselves, if we should turn our back on the new technology which can offer so much to us and to the world, we would brand ourselves before other peoples as a nation afraid to face the full economic and moral meaning of abundance for ourselves and for others. This would be a disastrous application of the "conventional wisdom."

LEON KEYSERLING

Washington, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

The Espionage Army

by Charlton Ogburn, Jr.

WHEN the Central Intelligence Agency two years ago commandeered a 120-acre tract in a residential section of Virginia as the site for a building to house as many as 10,000 of its employees at a cost of $60 million, an occasion would seem to have been provided for raising some questions about CIA and its role. For example:

What are the implications for our form of government of a secret agency as an adjunct to the Executive protected against public scrutiny, employing about as many persons as the entire Department of State and estimated to spend twice as much as the Department of State without any accounting to Congress?

Central Intelligence and National Security, by Harry Howe Ransom (Harvard; $4.75).

Is the size of the Agency, which evidently requires a site for its headquarters larger than the Vatican (an independent state from which a world-wide communion of 450 million is administered) legitimate or an instance of unchecked empire-building?

Is there nothing of questionable propriety in erecting an edifice for an intelligence agency that will dominate the countryside and lack for little in the way of self-advertisement but a big neon sign proclaiming it the World's Biggest Spy Center?

How will the image of the United States abroad be affected by the disclosure that our practice of the "precarious and dirty business of espionage and political action in foreign lands," as it is called in the book under review, has become so extensive as to require an army of 10,000 at the Washington headquarters alone? Will the fact that we make no bones about it be interpreted as evidence of wholesome American honesty, hopeless American naïveté, or the indifference of a self-righteous, self-absorbed great power to whatever the lesser breeds without the law may think?

What will be the effect upon our foreign relations of a large intelligence body operating in a kind of monastic detachment from the stream of American life and almost certain to exert a growing influence—"on the proven principle," as Walter Millis has said, "that 'knowledge is power' "? Will it strengthen the tendency already present in the United States Government to pursue the goals of foreign policy in an atmosphere of *Realpolitik*, as if the peoples of the world were integers to be manipulated rather than human beings to be lived with?

It may well be that reassuring answers to all these questions can be found. What is disturbing is that they have scarcely been debated at all.

One reason why they have not been debated is probably that Congress has tended to accept what Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence, has said of the Directorship: "If you haven't someone who can be trusted, or who gets results, you'd better throw him out and get somebody else." (Mr. Dulles' logic sounds incontrovertible and Congress may have been wise in according him the trust he asks, although democratic government is founded on the principle that no one who is completely trusted can be completely trusted.) Another reason doubtless is that the press feels inhibited from criticizing intelligence, not wishing to embarrass or add to the difficulties of those working in a sensitive and exceedingly difficult field, especially when upon their success, as the Hoover Commission stated, "the fate of the Nation may well rest." Lastly, there is the difficulty an outsider must encounter in discussing official intelligence. What is intelligence? Where does it come from? What is it supposed to do? Who is responsible for obtaining it? What use is made of it? How important is it?

By writing as illuminatingly as he has without use of or access to classified material, Mr. Ransom demonstrates that the layman *can* discuss intelligence intelligently.

The present form and methods of the intelligence community were shaped primarily by two disasters. Pearl Harbor showed that we had no national intelligence and led to the creation in 1947 of the Central Intelligence Agency as an arm of the National Security Council to advise the Council on intelligence and make recommendations for the coordination of the work of the existing intelligence agencies—notably those in the Department of State and in the Army, Navy and Air Force—as well as to perform "other functions" in intelligence as the Council might direct. The second disaster was the surprise attack upon the Republic of Korea in 1950, which demonstrated that intelligence which merely analyzed the enemy's capabilities, however accurately, was not enough. This appreciation led to the inauguration of the National Intelligence Estimates. The estimates are produced by the intelligence branches of State and the three services under the chairmanship of CIA's small, highly competent Board of National Estimates.

OBVIOUSLY, a major concern of CIA has been the character of the competition we have had to meet. And this is where the trouble begins. "The growth of America's massive central intelligence bureaucracy has been a response, in part, to the Soviet challenge and to Russia's pervasive and ceaseless world espionage and political action," Mr. Ransom points out—a bureaucracy in which are amalgamated "the distinct functions of intelligence research, analysis, and production and international espionage and political action." No other function of government raises in more exacerbated form the horrible question of whether we can successfully combat the USSR if we deny ourselves its weapons, and how if we employ its weapons we can keep from becoming more and more like the USSR.

Mr. Ransom takes up the problem posed by "the existence of a massive and highly secret CIA, expending hundreds of millions of dollars annually with only minimal legislative supervision." He summarizes the arguments over the resolution introduced in 1955 by Senator Mike Mansfield with 34 co-sponsors to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence, which was defeated by a non-partisan force of Senate "patriarchs" with strong backing from the Administration. The author's own view, expressed with restraint, is that "more advantages are to be gained than lost from establishing a more institutionalized system for Congressional surveillance."

On the positive side, Mr. Ransom's judgments are likely to be applauded by the more creative spirits working in intelligence. "If United States security policy is ever to develop into a positive attempt to shape future events in the nation's interest instead of a somewhat negative containment or a sterile, anxiety-ridden co-existence," he argues, "the foundation for such development must be a constantly improving central intelligence." And: "To comprehend or predict the future capability or action of nations requires an understanding of the behavior of human beings who create national will, and of the forces which produce certain behavior patterns."

ON only one subject did *Central Intelligence and National Security* disappoint me. It shows that while the intelligence branches of the military services have been gaining in size and status, the intelligence branch of the Department of State has been progressively reduced in size and has now lost its independence through "Wristonization"—the integration of its civil service staff into the Foreign Service—but it fails to draw the inferences. The Foreign Service Officers who increasingly staff the Bureau of Intelligence Research generally regard the assignment as an unwelcome interruption of their careers and can be expected to hesitate before submitting analyses that challenge the prejudices or pet projects of higher-ups on whose opinion their promotion will depend. The cardinal principle of the separation of intelligence and policy is violated and thus the most immediate check on such assumptions as those upon which the Administration has been acting in the Middle and Far East is seriously weakened.

On the whole, however, Mr. Ransom's book is a valuable contribution to public understanding of an activity of government that has more power to affect our lives, in proportion to what the average citizen knows about it, than any other.

Dysology Dislodged: An Essay on S. J.

by Peter Salmon

Down in the Village in a block that is a hodge-podge of bars and shabby shops there's a smudged nameplate in an inconspicuous entry — "S. J. Perelman." And up two flights of creaky stairs is the Maestro himself, a surprisingly gentlemannered man with old fashioned steel-rimmed spectacles.—*From an interview by Martha MacGregor in* The New York Post.

SCENE: *A bookshop on the main street of Greenwich Village. The setting shows two levels of the shop. Upstairs there are beat-up books in hard cover for squares; downstairs are displayed square books in paper covers for the beat. As the action progresses, various customers appear at the door. Each is asked the password. Those who answer "Martin Buber" are admitted at once. One poor gentleman, wearing a tie, replies* Lolita, *and is sternly sent off to Macy's. The owners of the shop, the Brothers Karamazov—Nelson and Averell Karamazov— are conducting a conversation. Nels is upstairs and Ave is down in the basement.*

NELS: I've just been reading that new book of S. J. Perelman's,* and, say, it is really "The Most."

AVE: I suspected it would be, at least.

NELS: And I've discovered why this Perelman character, which he is frequently coming around this store after lunching at the Jumble Shop, doesn't ever buy anything.

AVE: *Pourquoi?*

NELS: He subscribes to too many magazines and newspapers already. I made a list as I went through the book and discovered he reads *Spicy Detective, Oral Hygiene, American Home, Yale Review, Harper's Bazaar, The Aquarium, The Sun, The World-Telegram, The World-Telegram & Sun, Captain Future, The Herald-Tribune, Jitterbug, Mademoiselle, Vogue, House and Garden, The Times, New Republic, Newark Star-Ledger, Jungle Stories, Billboard, Woman's Home Companion, Life, Laff, Gay Stories, PM, Business Week, Buffalo Evening News, New Statesman and Nation, New Yorker, Glamour, The Journal-American, Journal of the American Medical Association* and *Modern Screen.*

AVE: His taste seems eclectic.

NELS: Now you're cooking with glass. He also reads instruction leaflets for Major's Cement, electric blankets, Jiffy-Cloz, Gilbert's Frozen Boneless Veal Steaks and Mandalay's Coconut Syrup. Plus the menus for Liggett's and Toffenetti's. Plus, furthermore, ads for Macy's, Russek's, Schrafft's, Hostess Cup Cakes, hand lotions and movies.

AVE: Why, he's a regular potato chip, dipped in the culture of our time, but does he read books?

NELS: Oh, yes. He has read Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic, Proust: Portrait of a Genius, The Sign of the Four,* Penguin reprints, and something called *Oh, Doctor! My Feet!*

AVE: I know why his doorplate is smudged: the mailman must rest his bag against it before starting his daily

* *The Most of S. J. Perelman* (Simon and Schuster: $5.95).

An extraordinary documentary novel of Spain today!

REAPERS OF THE STORM

by Elizabeth Lyttleton and Herbert Sturz

"There is love and loyalty and pride, and excruciating humor in this documentary novel, and so much happening that no reader should prefer any lighter revelation of our time....

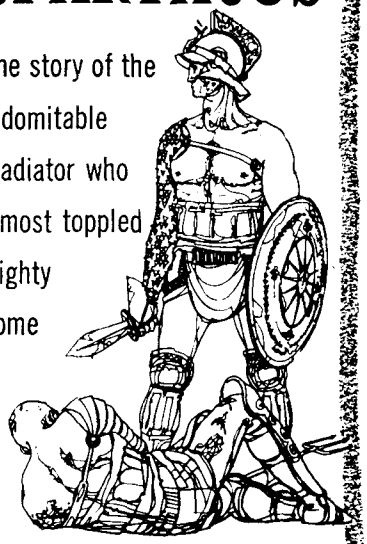
"The book is full of tenderness and understanding of human relations, however tangled, of all castes and classes. . . . They let the reader meet character by character these people they have known, and feel the passion and defeat and pride and happiness and endless struggle of intertwined families." — ERNESTINE EVANS, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review* $3.95

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY
Established 1834

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOWARD FAST'S
masterful novel
SPARTACUS

The story of the indomitable gladiator who almost toppled mighty Rome



SPARTACUS was a third-generation slave, a gladiator trained to fight for his life, while the gilded youth and sated Roman aristocrats watched in lustful glee.

But there came a day when Spartacus rebelled against his inhuman bondage. Fifty thousand slaves rallied behind him, and for four years held the proud legions of the mightiest army in the world at bay.

Howard Fast tells the story of Spartacus with the consummate skill that has made him one of the most popular authors in the world today. In scenes of blazing realism he gives you the pomp, the debauchery, the amorality and perversion of the aristocracy. With exquisite compassion he tells you of the plight of the slaves, who asked only for their freedom.

This is a story that could have been written only by the author of *Citizen Tom Paine, Freedom Road* and *Moses, Prince of Egypt.*

$3.95, now at your bookstore

Crown PUBLISHERS

climb up those creaky stairs. But tell me, is his new book any good?

NELS: It's uneven. Much of it is genuine Perelman, but a lot of the early stuff is Mother-of-Perelman. And there are the accounts of his Bucks County farm, taken from *Acres and Pains*, which give me personally the former of the latter. And *Cloudland Revisited*, which he would have been better off if someone had stolen the formula early in the game. And *Westward Ha!* which reads like Art Buchwald, and, like that columnist's prose, is more Buchwald than art. Incidentally, S. J. twice writes about the same incident in a sleeping car in the Far East when a banana peel was tossed in his berth. On page 433 he thinks it was a cobra or Russell's viper; on a later page he remembers it as a fer-de-lance.

AVE: He's not the first to slip on a banana peel.

NELS: But after you have said all this, you have to admit he is a real writer. His handling of various forms indicates that under his humorist's disguise there lurks a stylist who is a mystery writer manqué, a short story writer manqué and a playwright manqué.

AVE: A manqué's oncle, eh?

NELS: He is good at parody, too. There are excellent take-offs on Odets, Dostoevsky and Marquand, as well as some fine stream-of-consciousness pieces.

AVE: With any modern humor collection, you pays your money and you takes your Joyce.

NELS: Just because most of his best work has appeared in *The New Yorker*, people have got into the habit of laughing at it. But strip away the veneer of *New Yorker* ads and you find a writer who is Stilton-sharp, Norfolk-broad, basso-profound and Providence-born.

AVE: I think I know why he wears steel-rimmed spectacles. That vision of his would burn through ordinary tortoise-shell or plastic.

(As he says this, the two brothers snatch off their masks and reveal themselves as the alter egoes of S. J. Perelman. They slowly blend into one person as the curtain falls. This may seem a little difficult to stage, but you can always call in Wells Fargo.)

THEATRE

Love and Marriage

FOUR of our brightest stars, worth their weight in gold, are supporting the lead weight of two grim new plays dealing roughly—*brutally*—with love and marriage.

At the Plymouth Theatre two of our most durable French imports, Claudette Colbert and Charles Boyer, are showing the stuff that made France great as they struggle through a new Battle of the Marne known as *The Marriage-Go-Round*.

The Marriage-Go-Round, by Leslie Stevens (Plymouth Theatre); *The Man in the Dog Suit*, by Albert Beich and William H. Wright (Coronet Theatre).

In this two-act smoker joke Miss Colbert is the Dean of Women at an Eastern college and she is the ecstatic wife of Mr. Boyer, a dashing monogamous professor of Cultural Anthropology. All goes well until their happy nest is raided by an alarmingly built Swedish amazon who is hellbent on producing the eugenically perfect baby with the aid of Mr. Boyer. The child is to be one of those your-brains-and-my-beauty projects which, if memory serves, Isadora Duncan once suggested to George Bernard Shaw. The rest is history and, although the play contains nothing so witty as Mr. Shaw's reply, the rest of the humor dates back to just about the period of Miss Duncan's proposition.

Miss Colbert and Mr. Boyer — both looking far too young to have been married the twenty-five years often mentioned in the script — work like stevedores to keep the play from seeming too elderly. They trudge for endless miles on a revolving stage. They hop down to address the audience from lecterns at either side of the proscenium arch. They fiddle with books and gloves and glasses and cigarettes; with food and drinks and furniture and telephones. In the course of the evening Miss Colbert slips into six

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fetching costumes and even Mr. Boyer wriggles lithely in and out of some well-cut jackets. They mug, they grimace, they snicker, they pause. They bring all of the polished tricks of their long careers to the stage of the Plymouth and sometimes so effectively that one almost forgets how creaky their vehicle is.

But *The Marriage-Go-Round* is a dull, dull play; vulgar in the exact sense of the word. It seems to be written on the premise that any remark concerning sex —no matter how old or how tasteless— is bound to dredge up a laugh from *someone*, just as "God damn," spoken from the stage is practically guaranteed to fracture an audience. Laughter was indeed forthcoming, but the mirth was pretty much limited to the dessert-bridge giggle and the club car chuckle. I can't believe that any sophisticated theatregoer could feel any emotion beyond embarrassment and pity for the two fine stars who work so hard to achieve so little.

Another great team, Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn, have been tinkering with *The Man in the Dog Suit* for the past two years. Now that it has finally arrived on Broadway, I would peg its age as closer to thirty for it is woefully reminiscent of the satirical, mildly iconoclastic Think Plays of the late twenties and early thirties when some of our less reverent writers dared to take pokes at a few semi-sacred American institutions.

This quasi-fantasy deals with a young married couple (Mr. Cronyn and Miss Tandy) living beyond their means in an upper middle class suburb where Mr. Cronyn functions as a bank teller, more or less beholden to his wife's rich and stuffy relatives. Invited to a costume ball at the country club, Mr. Cronyn appears in a dog suit and discovers that thus dressed he is no longer a mouse, but a man—sage, courageous and virile. And so whenever he puts on his dog outfit— as he so often does—he is able to rediscover himself, his wife and his children; he can settle the hash of his in-laws; and solve just about all the problems there are. And that fills up the evening.

Both Mr. Cronyn and Miss Tandy are splendid. But they cannot perform miracles. Hopelessly dated, *The Man in the Dog Suit* exposes the Domineering Mother, the Babbitt, the Snob, Suburbia, the Country Club Set and quite a lot of other things which I thought had been killed by overexposure some years ago. The play contains no original thought, very little humor and, all told, seems to me a waste of everyone's time.

PATRICK DENNIS

Now in its THIRD PRINTING

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE

By Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely

Chosen by Eric Sevareid, Lewis Gannett and William L. Shirer as Winner of the 1958 Hillman Award for the Year's Best Book in the Field of Race Relations, Civil Rights or World Peace.

"The best study of the present-day South that I have yet read."—BRUCE CATTON, Editor, *American Heritage*

"None of the recent books on the South can surpass [it] in scope, in readability or in the increase of understanding so vitally needed." —WELDON JAMES, *Louisville Courier-Journal*

"Solidly weighted with social, economic, political facts . . . a very human and very poetic book . . . the best, so far, of its class."—MAXWELL GEISMAR, Author, *American Moderns*

$5.00 AT BOOKSTORES
RINEHART & CO., INC.

ART

Surrealism in Chicago

THE RED QUEEN'S celebrated boast about her country has probably never been as applicable anywhere as it is to the country of modern art. It does take all the running you can do to stay in the same place and the country's been getting faster as the century's been getting older. As a painter, Virginia Woolf's Orlando could have made the same distance in a tenth the time. The speeding landscape results in a lot of things, most of them bad, such as the annual restyling of paintings as if they were automobiles. Even worse is the alarming rate at which "approaches" to art are discovered, explored, exploited, brought to a peak, sent into decline, used up and thrown away. A lot of the speed is illusory, of course, just as it is in other fields of fashion: despite Empire, unless you hang around exclusively with frozen-faced young mannequins, you still see trapeze and even chemise.

Because of the speed and because so much of it is illusory, it's a very good thing to examine the movements of the newly created past, particularly when they may be found in a context that permits continuation into the present.

Such an examination has been available in Chicago this fall; the movement in hand is Surrealism.

For some reason, the first two major shows in our second city are both concerned with Surrealism. The Arts Club hung a very broad and very good exhibition assembled by Joseph Shapiro; this was followed immediately by a big but more concentrated collection at the Feigen Galleries. Both the entrepreneurs here are worth a word or two themselves. Shapiro I regard as the archetypical Midwest collector. The collector out here is automatically a missionary. The Easterner, as trustee, donor and benefactor, is happy to send books and clothing to the minister overseas; the Midwesterner is impelled to bring the word, personally, to the heathen. Shapiro joyfully leads troupes of clubwomen through his own house, passing out prints as souvenirs; he gives learned lectures to unlearned audiences; he's running a scheme at the University of Chicago whereby a student can rent, say, a Goya *Caprice* for half a dollar. All the while, the acquisitions department is working overtime and from that department as much as from fellow-collectors, dealers and the Art Institute, Shapiro assembled his show.

Although Shapiro's Surrealism is "selective rather than comprehensive," the selection is surprisingly inclusive and makes a strong case for Surrealism's being a state of mind and above all an effect communicated by the work of art rather than either work done under specific ideological commitment or work done in a few places during a few years.

While the general ideology of Surreal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism—and it was perhaps the first movement in modern art to have a full-fledged ideology — has been revived as the historical anticipation of abstract-expressionism, the actual paintings and sculpture make it very clear that there is little relation between the two things. The vital difference is consciousness. Theoretically, both movements are out to make images of the unconscious. The younger of the two, with a certain fatal logic, therefore tends to leave the whole job up to the unconscious. Surrealism, on the other hand, believed in first catching the rabbit and creating the dish with all the cook's skill at one's command. It is impossible to believe of almost any of the works in Shapiro's show that it was created in progress, with the author getting his first intimation of what he'd accomplished only from the finished piece.

Surrealism here includes, happily, Picabia's "Parade Amoureuse" and the context lifts the picture from its usually seen Dada witty social protest to a poignant and totally conscious comment on love in the Western world.

At the other end of the show are two portraits by Giacometti. In the company at the Arts Club, the whole approach of the sketch portraiture, the fading back and forth between image and paint structure, the large areas of paint but no image, takes on a new meaning, with these means of the fifties revealed as a new and effective route to the familiar Surrealist territory of isolation, ambiguous identity and individual existence as a question.

It seemed unfortunate that Dali was represented by a single painting, the small head of Mae West as a reception room, but the painting is a lovely one. It is inevitable to compare the tiny work with de Kooning's well-known Marilyn Monroe. With wit, ingenuity and all around fitness, the Dali seems infinitely superior.

There are a couple of those magical boxes of Joseph Cornell at the Arts Club and I confess myself still unable to vibrate in time with them. In this set-up they seem better than with their usual company of current New York painting, but they still seem made things, as indeed they are, rearrangements of other people's images, and you can't escape the feeling that, given the time, you could do as well yourself. Consciousness is the Surrealist virtue and, as Aristotle so well said, the vice is the excess of the virtue.

SHAPIRO'S SHOW includes Chagall, Miro, Klee, Matta, Tanguy, De Chirico, Delvaux and the wonderful Aztec visions of Victor Brauner, but the standout in the exhibition is Max Ernst. In two paintings, he covers a lot of the Surrealist ground. In a plaster construction, "Loly Pop Introducing a Bird," he combines several of the Surrealist distinctions, and in his great bronze, "The King Playing With His Queen," Ernst raises the level of the whole enterprise.

Richard Feigen is less notable for what he's done than for where he's done it. A young reformed stockbroker, Feigen opened his gallery last year with a stunning German expressionist show. In his current Surrealist exhibition, the main thing he adds to Shapiro's effort is depth in Francis Bacon, who appears with a muted social comment on the organization man.

FRANK GETLEIN

MUSIC

A Menotti Melodrama

GIAN-CARLO MENOTTI'S new musical drama, *Maria Golovin* (the last name rhymes with "Ovaltine") closed in New York after four performances. Fortunately, operas are not as easily killed as plays, and there is no reason to assume that this is the last we will hear of this new work. *Maria* has been slated for production on television, and it surely deserves to be given a wide audience through this medium—if only because a lot of people who were not able to see it in New York will be interested in hearing a big new piece by a composer as provocative as Menotti. The production was sumptuous and expert in the highest degree (Franca Duval, who sang the title role, was most exceptional), and it would be a pity if all the time and talent that went into producing it were lost.

Maria is less sensational in subject-matter and plot structure than Menotti's earlier successes — *The Medium, The Consul, The Saint of Bleecker Street.* However, in some ways it is superior to them: better timed, quicker, richer in musical values.

The real trouble is that it asks us to become engrossed, once again, in the sorrows of a houseful of nitwits left over from 19th Century Italian Opera. And this becomes increasingly difficult with each of Menotti's dramas. It's not the stupidity of the characters that makes these pieces seem so trite. It is, rather,

A tough-minded program for idealists —

WITH A PROMISE . . .
. . . of a world without fear of atomic holocaust

WITH A PLAN . . .
. . . for total disarmament within the framework of the United Nations, meshed with the step-by-step growth of a U. N. collective security force

WITH PERSPECTIVE . . .
. . . that exposes the flaws in our present disarmament policy, and compels a careful re-evaluation of the entire problem of collective security

"Required reading for every thoughtful student of this basic problem of mankind."—LOUIS B. SOHN, *Professor of International Law, Harvard*

Permanent Peace

A CHECK AND BALANCE PLAN
By TOM SLICK

Don't miss this vital book that tells what *you* can do to help put this plan into effect at your bookseller or mail your check or money order for $2.95 directly to **PRENTICE-HALL,** Dept. PP-2, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

EUROPE

We'll see the usual, plus Africa, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Berlin, Denmark and Ireland. A low-priced, different kind of trip for the young in spirit who don't want to be herded around. Ten weeks **(also shorter trips).**

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia (Box N)
Pasadena, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes on Contributors

CHARLTON OGBURN, JR., did a stint in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II. Between 1946 and 1957 he was with the Department of State. His new novel, *The Marauders*, will be published next spring. PETER SALMON is a new satirist whose writing has appeared only in *The New Republic*.

the absence of sufficient musical material to distract us from the action.

THE NEW OPERA is basically a conventional melodramatic love story. Maria Golovin, the wife (evidently rich) of a prisoner of war takes an upstairs apartment in the villa of a family living "near a frontier in a European country . . . a few years after a recent war." Donato, the owner of the villa, is a blind war veteran who lives alone with his mother and a servant; he makes bird cages. When Mme. Golovin comes to take possession of her apartment, she falls in love with Donato, and they commence a remarkably disagreeable love-affair which, of course, has unpleasant consequences for them both. For Donato is homicidally jealous, and when *Mr.* Golovin gets out of prison, Donato tries to shoot Maria with a gun that he keeps in his piano. Donato's mother arrives on the scene just in time to deflect his aim and, as the opera ends, Donato is led off mistakenly believing that he has killed Maria.

The opera is so abundant in symbols that I believe it was meant to convey much more than I have suggested. Perhaps this could have been accomplished if Menotti had been willing to accept one further convention of the Italianate tradition upon which he so heavily relies: that of making at least one of the characters sympathetic. As it is, the central love-affair is incredible, because neither of the lovers is lovable in any noticeable degree. It is clear from the end of the first act that they are going to do nothing but fight and insult each other for the length of the opera. The piece is a series of scenes in the domestic, rather than the theatrical, sense.

Most of the music is unobtrusive and brooding—the singers complaining in an amorphous recitative to a somber orchestral accompaniment, in the familiar Menotti manner. However, this is by no means all. There are bright patches of relief — comic, lyric, or dramatic — in which Menotti exploits a variety of devices and styles. There is, for instance, a short but witty parody of J. S. Bach; there is a richly melodic barcarolle in the Italian *bel canto* style of a hundred years ago; and there is a surprising amount of coloristic dissonance borrowed, orchestration and all, from some of the "advanced" styles that Menotti makes a great show of despising. For me —and evidently I was almost alone— these elements helped to enliven the evening.

Even in these spots, however, Menotti was eclectic. He has written music of great charm, and music of some power, but he has only once demonstrated any particular originality: this was in his madrigal fable of a few years ago, *The Unicorn, the Gorgon and the Manticore,* and in that delightful piece, his originality was shown in the form, rather than in the style or handling of musical materials.

In the main, when Menotti has been attacked as second-rate, it has been for his imitativeness in style, particularly for his resemblance to Puccini. In the process of simplification, Menotti has emerged as a champion of conservatism in combat with the modernists. Conservatism, however, has better champions than Menotti. Older composers such as Strauss and Vaughan Williams, younger ones such as Barber and Hovhaness have built distinctive personal styles through traditional means. Menotti has assumed that an uncompromising point of view—in his case conservative—is sufficient in itself, without being transmuted into a personal musical language. The fiasco of his new opera at the high point of his career should surely give him some cause for reflection.

ROBERT EVETT

Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

. . . " of C. P. Snow. Snow is not a brilliant writer nor a farceur nor a satirist of any consequence. Technically, verbally, rhetorically, he is, like Trollope, too mild to be a major figure. . . . But he is *not* pseudo-anything and his resemblance to Galsworthy is only superficial.

Snow is shrewd and enjoys the exercise of shrewdness; this has clearly kept him going as a civil servant. But he is a good deal more; he is intelligent and tough-minded. He sees to the end of the small range of subjects that interest him. He has—again within a small range—the psychological toughness of a Stendhal or Saint-Simon. All this, I think, has made him extraordinarily gloomy, a gloom relieved mainly by the little satisfactions of a comfort-loving, respectable one-up-manship in a mostly homocentric world. Nevertheless, Snow is an interesting novelist, and *The Masters* and *The New Men* (at least) are, in their modest but solid success as novels, essential history of modern England.

R. W. FLINT

Cambridge, Mass.

► *Good Television Reportage*

SIRS:

I DO NOT now own a television set but if there were programs available such as to those to which Edward R. Murrow refers ("TV and Fear of Controversy," *NR*, Nov. 10) ("I am not here talking about editorializing, but about straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned and impartial, as fallible human beings can make it.") that were available in worthwhile quantity at a watchable hour, I'd go out and buy one.

D. K. SPIEGEL

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

FREE BOOK SEARCH SERVICE
For current, rare, old or out-of-print books. Write for information or send list to Dept. R, Libertarian Bookman, Box 7709, Chicago 80, Illinois.

SCHOLARLY BOOKS TO SELL?
Send stamped, addressed envelope for list of those we want to buy. Oster's, Box 111, Times Square Station, New York 36, N. Y.

Dead Letters Sent
Poems by
Maurice Kenny
TROUBADOR PRESS, N.Y.C.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP! Exciting details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, P.O. Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

FREE! Writer's Market List!
If you're interested in writing fiction or articles for leading magazines, or book publishers, Daniel S. Mead, prominent literary agent, has prepared a catalogue of markets which is a "must" item. For free copy write:
Daniel S. Mead, 915 Broadway, Dept. NR
N. Y. 10, N. Y.

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
Economical, insured household moving. Vans, station wagons. Any time, any place. The Padded Wagon, AL 5-8343 (NYC)

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At This Christmas Season, Give

A YEAR OF GOOD READING!

Order New Republic Gift Subscriptions with Coupons Below

1st Subscription $8

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

Gift Card to read from.....

☐ New Subscription ☐ Renewal

2nd Subscription $6

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

Gift Card to read from.....

☐ New Subscription ☐ Renewal

3rd Subscription $6

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

Gift Card to read from.....

☐ New Subscription ☐ Renewal

DONOR'S NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

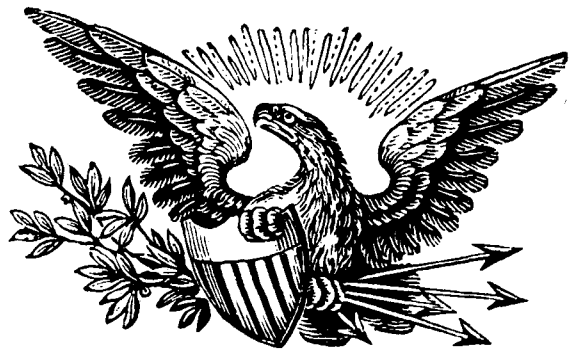
.....

Please include my own subscription as checked below:

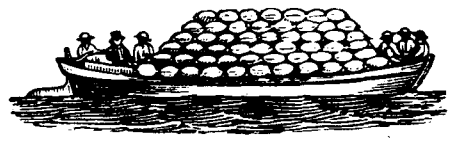
☐ New Subscription ☐ Renewal

I enclose $..... for ..... subscriptions

☐ Bill me later



★ WASHINGTON WIRE every week, with TRB's candid shots of politicians . . . fresh, independent comment by Gerald W. Johnson and others on national and world news.



★ THE U.S. ECONOMY, reported, analyzed by experienced writers on agriculture, labor, business, trade.

★ BOOKS, ART, MUSIC, THEATRE, FILMS discussed by lively and discerning critics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED